only adherents of the Orthodox religion might hold land, and the following year the writing of Lithuanian in Latin characters was forbidden. In 1894 Catholics were forbidden to hold any position, however small, in the central or local administrative services. None the less, the end of the century saw the foundation of a nationalist movement, led by Dr. Basanavicius, and the acquisition by the peasantry of a certain amount of land in small-holdings through the establishment of land banks and co-operative societies. In 1904 the law forbidding the printing of the Lithuanian language in Latin characters was repealed, and the flood of nationalist literature increased in volume.

In the other Provinces the situation of the peasants was even worse than in Lithuania, owing to the presence of the Baltic Barons, who were always loyal subjects of the Tsars, and who from the outset took a leading part in the administration of the Russian Empire. Under Russian rule the Barons secured the restoration of all privileges of which they had been deprived under the Swedish régime; moreover, they now created a closed corporation, consisting of 172 families which alone had the right to own land. Various attempts made by successive Tsars to improve the lot of the peasants were frustrated by the Barons, and serious rebellions were put down in 1783–4 and again in 1802. After the latter, Alexander I issued an ordinance in 1804 limiting serfdom, but its effects were nullified by the Barons. Laws abolishing personal serfdom altogether in Estonia (1816), Courland (1817), and Livonia (1819)[1] did little to improve matters, since freedom was of little use to peasants with no claim either to tenancy or ownership of land. In 1849, however, Alexander II enacted a new Agrarian Law abolishing forced labour and providing for the purchase or hire of certain lands by the peasant communes. Under Alexander III (1881–94) a determined policy of Russification was initiated, aimed as much at the German as at the native population; indeed, the later native movement of 1905 may be traced largely to the indirect encouragement which it now received from the Russian Government's anti-German policy. Russian law and police organization were substituted for the existing German system, and the Russian language was made compulsory in schools. On the other hand, Letts and Estonians were allowed to hold Government posts. Towards the end of the century, too, there was an improvement in the material status of the peasantry; the Russian railways brought trade to the ports of Riga and Libau, and in the towns a small proletarian class grew up which was ripe for the spread of revolutionary ideas. As in Lithuania, nationalist movements were set on foot, and Young Lett and Estonian parties were formed.

These movements, in all three countries, were quick to exploit the

[1] The first emancipation of serfs in the whole Empire was in the Baltic Provinces.

563 who estimate their numbers considerably higher than does the official
162 census, lived for the most part near the East Prussian frontier, where they settled as small peasants and artisans in the last century. Small Polish and Lettish minorities inhabited the districts bordering on
565 their respective countries of origin. The bulk of the Lithuanians themselves belonged to the peasant and farmer class. There were, however, fairly large bourgeois, clerical, and intellectual classes; the nobility, in so far as it still existed, resided for the most part in Poland, and was in fact almost entirely Polish.

563 The legal status of the minorities was regulated by Articles 73 and
656 74 of the Constitution of December 1922, which provided that
642 national minorities, forming 'an appreciable part of the citizens', might administer autonomously the affairs of their national culture and elect the necessary bodies to conduct these affairs in the manner prescribed by law. They might also impose taxes on their members for the needs of national culture, and might avail themselves of a proportion of the sums set aside by the State and the local government bodies for purposes of education and charity, in so far as their needs were not satisfied by the general establishments maintained by those bodies.[1]

563 In accordance with the requirements of the League of Nations, on
671 May 12, 1922, shortly after her admission to that body, Lithuania made a Declaration modelled on the Polish Minority Treaty of June 28, 1919. This guaranteed to Lithuanian nationals who belonged to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities the same treatment in law and in fact enjoyed by other nationals, as well as the right to maintain and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments, and to use their own language and practise their own religion therein.[2] Provision was to be made, in towns where there was a considerable proportion of Lithuanian nationals belonging to linguistic minorities, for the instruction of children in the State primary schools in their own

[1] These rights and privileges were confirmed by Section VII of the Constitution of May 25, 1928.

871 TABLE 2. *Minorities and Education in Lithuania.*

Type of school	*Year*	*Total no. of schools*	*Lithuanian*	*Jewish*	*Russian*	*German*	*Polish*	*Latvian*	*White Russian*	*Diverse*
Primary	1928–9	2,431	2,185	135	15	18	30	8	..	40
"	1935–6	2,308	2,147	100	3	10	11	13	..	16
Secondary	1928–9	122	83	29	2	3	3	1	..	1
"	1935–6	107	74	24	1	3	3	1	..	1
		students								
University	1928–9	3,812	2,555	1,070	47	30	85	10	7	8
"	1935–6	3,223	2,555	486	40	30	84		13	6

1: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1938 RE1 Baltic States RBJ
Lithuania

563 tongue, without prejudice to the obligatory teaching of Lithuanian
671 as an additional language. Special clauses (Nos. 7 and 8) extended freedom to the Jews in all educational and religious matters. All persons born in Lithuania after the date of the Declaration, and unable to claim another nationality by birth, were recognized as Lithuanian nationals. The Declaration reproduced the 'guarantee article' of the Polish and other minority treaties, and the ordinary minority procedure was adopted.[1]

563 In spite of this good beginning, the treatment of minorities in
798 Lithuania has not improved with the years. Nor was any great effort made to implement the promises of cultural autonomy described above. An autonomous organization established by the Jewish community in 1919, consisting of a National Council and a number of local branches, was abolished by a Christian-Democratic Government in 1924, and no other national minority has so far successfully availed itself of the right of cultural autonomy which it is supposed, in theory, to enjoy.

563 During the short period of parliamentary government the minor-
186 ities had already begun to suffer from the ultra-nationalism of the
871 Lithuanian parties, which was accentuated, especially with regard to the Poles, by the interminable Vilna controversy. After the establishment of the Voldemaras dictatorship in 1926, nationalist feeling ran higher than ever, and forty-eight Polish schools were shut. In August 1929 there were reports in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of pogroms against the Jews in Kaunas—always a centre of unrest owing to its high percentage of Jewish, German, and Polish inhabitants—and at Slobodke and Shanz, and there were general complaints that the State exercised too much control over the minority schools. Similar complaints were made, later on, against the Tubelis Administration, although in actual fact most of the Polish schools had been reopened. In August 1934 anti-Jewish outbursts occurred in Kaunas and elsewhere.

Since Herr Hitler's advent to power there has been a considerable amount of German propaganda in Lithuania with the particular object of securing the reincorporation of Memel in Germany.[2] The

[1] Jewish petitions and memoranda were submitted in December 1921 and in June and September 1925. The Polish Government made several complaints of the general treatment of the Polish minority in Lithuania in 1921 and 1922; in 1924–5 a number of petitions from the 'Committee of Polish Exiles', referring to linguistic, educational, and agrarian reform questions, were dealt with by the League Council. In August 1928, 34 Russians submitted a complaint relating to expropriation, which was considered by the Council in its 55th–56th Sessions, but which, in view of the remedial measures taken by the Lithuanian Government, was finally dismissed in January 1930. (See *League of Nations Official Journal*, xi, No. 8, p. 967.) A similar petition from 21 Ukrainians in November 1927 was also dismissed by the Council on September 8, 1928. (See *League of Nations Official Journal*, ix, No. 10, p. 1493.)

[2] The question of the minority in Memel is dealt with below, pp. 93–100.